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Judging from the holes in the curbs, rafters were numerous; if they all joined a main post the interior of the house must have been rather obstructed by them. The rafters were connected by purlins "reaching along the whole length at two feet distance from each other." They gave strength to the whole structure and supported the thatching.

To build a house is *hato*, the term used in other parts of Polynesia for thatching. The Easter Island vocabularies give *hakamanga* for roof. The end of the house was called *pini*. The central ridgepost is said to have had magic in it, though present natives are unable to tell how it was manifest. The different elements of the frame were lashed together with ropes of *hau* bark (*hahau*) and great care was taken that the number of knots used in lashing should be odd, for fear of the bad luck connected with even figures.

On Easter Island, wood was a precious and rare material, so when a house had to be abandoned because of fleas, "it was lifted by a dozen men who carried it to another spot, fastening it with poles stuck into the ground" (230, vol. 6, p. 122).

Thatching

Roggeveen (186, p. 118) describes the thatching of houses in the following terms:

> . . . Then the interstices, which are all of oblong shape, are closed up and covered over with a sort of rush or long grass, which they put on very thickly, layer upon layer, and fasten on the inner side with lashing . . . so that they are always as well shut in against wind and rain as those who live beneath thatched roofs in Holland.

According to Tepano, who saw houses of ancient type in his youth, the thatch (*hatunga*) was made of three superimposed layers:

> The first was a covering of mats (*moenga*); the second, a layer of sugar-cane leaves (*rau toa*); the third, a layer of grass (*mauku-ato*). The mats extended on the frame were similar to sleeping mats and were made of rushes (*Scirpus riparius*) sewn together with *hau* cords. The accuracy of this statement is borne out by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 256): "The whole [structure] is covered with rushes of nine or ten lines diameter at the lower end, united together like mats, by threads twisted with the hand." The use of sugar cane is mentioned by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 570), who describes the thatching as composed of "small sticks [purlins], and covered with a neat mat-work of sugar cane leaves, leaned on each row of stakes, forming a very sharp ridge or angle at the top and resting firmly on the ground at the bottom." The word "mat-work" may suggest that the Easter Islanders employed for thatching a method widely known in the rest of Polynesia (Cook Islands, Tahiti, Samoa, etc.) which consisted in covering the house with sheets made by doubling pandanus or sugar-cane leaves over a length of cane and sewing them together with a slender rod or coconut midrib. The threading of the midribs through the leaves is termed *tui* on Mangareva; and the verb *tuitui* means, on Easter Island, to "tie together, bind together." The number of purlins used in the framework is more appropriate for lashing of bundles of leaves and of grass than for the simple covering of sugar-cane sheets. Geiseler (87, p. 39), who did not see houses of the old type but describes them from information received, says that the frame was of *toro-miro* wood—and that the intervals between the elements "were interwoven" with dry banana leaves (which he erroneously calls *hau*), then covered with sugar-cane stalks and leaves, and finally with long grass. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) likewise states that the huts were thickly covered with reed, sugar-cane stalks, or other grass so that the rain could not percolate into the interior. Neither description refers to sheets or mats, nor do they stress any differences in the way these layers were put on. My informant asserted that

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Comparisons with Other Polynesian Wooden Images

Wooden images of humans are common to the cultures of eastern and central Polynesia. The decayed condition portrayed in Easter Island images is foreign to other Polynesian art, except that of the Chatham Islands. A Moriori image (206, pl. 4) has protruding ribs and a retracted abdominal region. However, all other features are treated quite differently from those on Easter Island images. Ribs are frequently represented on the famous tree carvings of the Chatham Islands and ribs may be seen in some Maori *hei-tiki* (206, p. 66) and in the cave drawings from the South Island of New Zealand. The position of the arms—slightly flexed and lying along the thighs—is the same in Easter Island and Hawaiian images (142, p. 89).

Small wooden images seem to have been used throughout Polynesia as temporary tabernacles for gods and ancestral spirits. Probably such was their function on Easter Island. In New Zealand sticks with conventionalized figures carved on one end were used as temporary shrines for the gods (20, vol. 1, p. 281). In the Whanganui district small images were kept in the house "each of which is dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor of the family, who is believed to enter into its substance, on particular occasions, in order to hold converse with the living" (203, p. 63). Occasionally Maori wooden images were made to represent defunct relatives before which the living wept while food was offered to them (20, vol. 2, p. 60). Tahitian *ti'i* (wooden images) were also temporary receptacles for lesser gods or spirits who were called into the image by a priest or a magician (107, p. 203). The naturalistic Mangarevan wooden figures represented gods, especially the god Tu. The small stone and wooden images of Hawaii and the Marquesas were probably ceremonial objects but their exact use is not known.

Good-Luck Objects

The magic significance attributed by one of my informants to the signs on the tablets probably derived from the fact that the natives consider as talismans or amulets every stone with an incised figure. Numerous boulders with engraved designs on them have been found on the island. The design which is most frequently reproduced on the stones is that of the vulva, stylized as in figure 42, *e-f* (p. 258). Rarely the outline of a fish, a bird, a turtle, or a man is seen (fig. 42, *b-c*). The carved figures might have increased the magic power of the stones or simply distinguished them from ordinary boulders.

J. L. Young, who collected some magic stones with the incised representation of the vulva, was given the correct name, *maea mo moa* (stone for fowls) and was told that the stones "were placed under domestic fowls with the idea that the fertility of the eggs was thus promoted" (229, p. 171). A

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777 few years before Young's visit, Thomson had purchased from the natives what he calls a "fowl god" (*maea moa*, stone of fowls) which he describes (215, p. 537) as "a beach pebble with slight traces of tool-marks" that was placed under a setting hen before the eggs were hatched. Stones incised with designs of the vulva are common on the island and had no connection with the purported ceremony of the *hakatoro* (stretching of a girl's clitoris) as suggested by Young (229, p. 32). The stretching of the girl's clitoris (*repe*) was not a special rite, but a long process of deformation which lasted for years under the care of the girl's mother. Routledge counted 49 signs of the vulva (*komari*) on the rocks at Orongo and observes that the "*komari* is frequently found on hollow stones and elsewhere" (194, p. 449). The same symbol appears on a stone which was given to Thomson as a fish god (215, p. 537):

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> This rough, ill-shaped stone was one of the objects really worshipped by the natives. Some of them bear evidences of tool marks, but it does not appear that any effort was made to carve them. These gods were never common, and were possessed by communities or clans [lineages], and not by individuals. The legends claim that they were all brought to the island by Hotu Matua and the first settlers.

In a field near Mataveri we found a large stone, about 3 feet high, on which the conventionalized design of the big-eyed god was carved five times. The location of this stone in the middle of the cultivated grounds resembles strongly the *kumara* gods of New Zealand, which were temporary abiding-places for the *atua* and were placed in potato fields to insure a good harvest.

777 226 Natives still remember that formerly fishermen carried in their canoes stones selected for their shape which were supposed to bring luck. Some looked like fish, others like cocks, and some suggested the form of a man. They were called *maea ika* (stones for fish). There were special ones called *maea kahi* for the *kahi* fish. These, according to Thomson (215, p. 537), had "no distinguishing characteristics."

777 Amulets were buried in houses. Thomson got a fair collection of them by digging beneath the door posts of ancient dwellings. "The majority are simply beach pebbles; others have been formed by rubbing; and one is a triangular-shaped stone with a face outlined upon it. These were placed beneath the houses, with much ceremony, and were supposed to ward off evil influences" (215, p. 538).

235 Natives frequently offered me stone blocks with natural holes which they called "nests for hens." They insisted that these stones, not unlike enormous egg-cups, were "good" for the hens and caused them to lay eggs. This interpretation was confirmed by the discovery of some of these stones in an old chicken house.

> Among the "fetish stones" figured by Thomson (215, pl. 60, fig. 2) there is one identical with five stones in Bishop Museum (B3545) classified as "sharpening stones." All are elongated and have a more or less conical form. The porosity of the stones

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would make them convenient for polishing wood, but such a use is quite hypothetical. Three rectangular stones in the collection of Bishop Museum (B3546), labeled "idols", may have been fetish stones.

A small boulder in the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero, Paris, has a human face pecked on one side (fig. 55, *b*). The nose is on the same plane as the forehead. The protruding eyes are oval with a central round depression representing the pupil. The mouth is weakly indicated. The back surface is rough, as if it had been broken. A similar rough head is figured by Thomson (215, pl. 51, fig. 1) with protruding cheek bones and a large mouth. I saw another small stone suggesting a coarse pounder which had a very rudimentary human figure on the upper side. This was probably also a talisman.

Images for Protection of Houses

The low entrances of houses were guarded by images of wood or of bark cloth, representing lizards or rarely crayfish. The bark cloth images were made over frames of reed, and were called *manu-uru*, a name given also to kites, masks, and masked people. According to my principal informant, there were two of these images, one on either side of the door. Tepano protested violently against the statement of Brown (27, p. 134) that the images housed spirits or *akuaku*. He insisted over and over again that "the *manu-uru* had no significance at all, that they were only ornaments of the house and that nobody but children or women were afraid of them." But one must not discard entirely the possibility that some supernatural power was attributed to the images. Very likely they were believed to protect the dwellers of the house against evil spirits.

Three of these images have been preserved. One is in the Belfast Museum (for description see 214, p. 11, figs. 12-13) and I have examined two others in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (figs. 30, 31) which are made of plaited bundles of bulrush covered with sheets of tapa sewn over the framework and covering it entirely. The eyes and the ears are separate pieces stitched to the tapa covering. The nails are long sticks and the teeth are pieces of bulrush. The conventional style of the wooden images shows its influence in many details: the strongly aquiline nose, the protruding vertebrae and the two bulky malleoli. Tattooing motifs and facial painting have been carefully reproduced on both images (pp. 238, 239).

The large tapa images erected during the *paina* feasts (p. 344) were almost 4 meters high and a man could climb into them. A member of the La Pérouse Expedition (130) saw near an ahu, "the figure of a child two feet long, with arms crossed and the legs hanging down." This description suggests an image of the type described here.

Tepano contended that the wooden lizards were clubs (*paoa*) used to defend the entrance to the house; the same explanation is given by Geiseler (87, p. 37). Certainly wooden images were associated with house doors and their religious significance may be inferred from the fact that when a new house was built, "the wooden lizards were put formally on each side of the entrance to the porch" (194, p. 243). Possibly the images were pulled out and brandished like clubs when the village was attacked.

Many wooden lizard images have been preserved in museums in America and Europe (fig. 42, *d*). A few of them are genuine but most are clumsy